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axiom, "In time of peace prepare for war," and buys a pistol. Hearing this, the other promptly "prepares."

The first decides he is insufficiently "prepared," and buys a six-chambered revolver, an action that is immediately followed by his neighbor. With every additional weapon purchased the premium upon their lives would be promptly raised by insurance companies. These "prepared" men have only to meet by chance, when a word, a gesture, misinterpreted, results in bloodshed, perhaps death. Exactly so with nations. The causes of wars, both between nations and men, are generally of trifling moment. So much depends upon their attitude to each other, friendly or unfriendly. If the former, no dispute but can be peacefully settled; if unfriendly, no trifle but can create war; the disposition is all. Hence the folly and danger of nations arming against each other, which must always arouse mutual suspicion, fatal to friendly relations.

Armaments and true friendship are incompatible. Even nations in close alliance against other nations must always feel the alliance may give place to other and perhaps hostile alliances. Thus suspicion inevitably follows armaments as shadows follow substance. There is no escape, and suspicion is fatal.

Second: "Our armaments are intended only for our own protection and are no menace to other nations; they make for peace."

Answer: So say all the armed nations, and it is true that every nation regards and proclaims its own armaments as instruments of peace only, because these are meant to protect her from the existing armaments of other nations; but just as naturally every nation regards every other nation's armaments as clearly instruments of war, and not of peace, because these may attack her. Thus each nation suspects all the others, and only a spark is needed to set fire to the mass of inflammable material. It is impossible that formidable armaments of one nation should not create alarm among other nations; although all nations may protest that they do not intend to attack, yet they may.

Thus armaments, either personal or national, on land or on sea, so far from preserving peace, inevitably become in time one of the chief, if not the greatest of all, causes of war, since they sow the deadly seeds of mutual suspicion.

The gigantic armaments of our own day have greatly added to this danger, which future additions now under way must inevitably increase. Clearly, increasing armaments is no remedy, since they multiply the dangers of war.

Third: "Armaments are the cheap defense of nations."

Answer: Let us see. Last year Britain spent upon army and navy in round numbers £70,000,000 (\$345,000,000); Germany, £48,000,000 (\$233,000,000); Amer-

ica, £97,000,000 (\$470,000,000), £32,000,000 (\$160,000,000) of this upon war pensions. This expenditure was before the day of Dreadnaughts, now costing about \$12,000,000 each, say £2,250,000. The naval expenditure of nations and hence the dangers of war are to be much greater in the future, and the end thereof, under present ominous conditions, no one can foretell. One point, however, is clear. Neither men nor money will be wanting with any first-class power involved, since for no cause, unfortunately, can the populace of every land be so easily and heavily burdened as for that of foreign war, in which all men are so prone to believe their country in the right.

The remedy: Recently delegates of the eight naval powers, Germany, France, Italy, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Japan, Britain, America, sitting in London, unanimously agreed to establish an International Supreme Court, to deliver final judgment upon all cases of marine captures, each nation appointing one judge. To such of the smaller nations as apply for admission, seven judges are to be accorded in turn, so that the great maritime nations combined have always a majority, which is common sense.

These same eight powers have only to meet again and decree that hereafter disputes between civilized nations shall be settled in like manner (or by arbitration), and war becomes a thing of the past.

The Clark University Conference on the Far East.

BY JAMES L. TRYON.

The twentieth anniversary of Clark University was celebrated by a new departure in university life. This institution, instead of dwelling upon the glories of its recent past, held conferences in chemistry and history, to which it invited the people of Worcester, representatives of the press, and distinguished guests, to hear experts discuss some of the most pressing problems of the time. The conferences were in general charge of the president, Dr. G. Stanley Hall. He was assisted by members of the faculty, who entered fully into his spirit in organizing the program. Prof. George H. Blakeslee chose as the topic for the history department, "The Far East." Professor Blakeslee is personally familiar with this quarter of the world. By wide travel or correspondence he has made the acquaintance of educators, missionaries and government officials who live or have lived on the spot, and who accepted his invitation to speak at the conference.

The occasion was a splendid interpretation of the intellectual tastes of the American people. As one of the speakers remarked, "The American colleges must study vital questions, and not be contented with the old humanities, if they expect to keep their hold on the people." Clark University offered in the study of world politics a kind of culture for which the American mind is every

day becoming better prepared and in a manner of presentation suited to the popular understanding. The same enthusiasm for the investigation of world problems was shown there that has been seen in our National Peace Congresses and the Mohonk Conferences, which have done so much to create a sentiment for international justice. Every individual who was present had an opportunity to sit as judge upon the diplomatic policies of the nations and thus to realize his responsibilities as a citizen of the world.

The conference was incidentally a manifestation of the place that public opinion holds in international life. It revealed the fact that public opinion is to-day more truly a force in deterring nations from wrong policies and starting them on the right track than ever before; that nations have become so sensitive to public opinion that they employ agents to set themselves right with the world, and nowhere more so than in the United States. It was learned that Oriental peoples, who have suffered much from misrepresentation here, are awakened to the importance of being properly understood and are now organizing an Oriental Bureau to interpret the Orient to America. The presence of Orientals at this conference had significance in respect to this form of international work.

The delicacy of the situation in the Orient, in its complexity and its changes, can, however, be appreciated only by study. The central point of interest there is China, but this means also Manchuria and to some extent Korea, where the problems of territorial integrity and the "open door" occupy the attention of all Western diplomatists. It is of little consequence to the nations who build a railroad between Worcester and Boston, but let a foreign government get a franchise to build a railroad from Newchwang to Peking, or from Peking to Hankow, or change the gauge of a railroad in Manchuria, and the mere announcement of that fact threatens to upset the balance of power in the world. International suspicion is at once created. Counter concessions are demanded by some other nation whose rights are believed to be threatened, or guarantees of some kind are required by it against the further extension of its rival's influence. A discussion, therefore, of the conditions prevailing in the Far East by men conversant with them and on a university platform is of first importance in its effect on public opinion.

The object of the Clark University conference was not to criticize any particular country's policy in the Orient, or to subject the attitude of Oriental countries to unfriendly scrutiny, but to help the United States to enter into more sympathetic relations with them. It sought to get at the truth as a basis for intelligent action. It was inspired by a love of modern scholarship and international justice. The university was a platform, not an arena. It stood for academic tolerance, not for demonstrations of partisanship. There was no jarring jingoism or "big stick" business about it. Whatever views some of its members may have had with regard to the American administration of the Philippine Islands, or a more aggressive American policy in Asiatic affairs generally, no real encouragement was given by the audience to anything but fair play. This was shown when one of the speakers went so far as to urge the "dominance" of America in the Pacific. But everybody spoke his mind

freely and the conference got close to actual conditions. It was an enlightening experience in the study of international relations to have Japan discussed and then to hear an earnest Japanese student try candidly and patiently in the presence of an impartial audience to give, in his broken English, a psychological explanation of our race prejudice against his people, taking illustrations from his own mistreatment here in the vicinity of Boston. He told things that everybody ought to know, and in time will know, as the study of the subject grows, and the people of the East and the West come to know each other better. His spirit of manly respect and his confidence in the willingness of his audience to hear the truth were quite as notable as the array of distinguished scholars who composed the conference.

The sessions of the conference opened on Monday, September 13, with an address of welcome by President Hall, and an explanation of its aims and ideals by Dr. Blakeslee. Dr. John P. Jones, author of "India, Its Life and Thought," read a paper on "The Present Situation in India." He was followed by Prof. A. L. P. Dennis of the University of Wisconsin, Prof. E. C. Burbank of the Worcester Classical High School, who read a paper prepared by a native of India, Prof. William I. Chamberlain of Rutgers College, Prof. Satyanda Bhramachari, formerly of Barisal, and others. The general impression seemed to be that England, though she has conferred great benefits on India, can do far better by her, and that she ought to make and must make more generous concessions to the natives, with whom the sympathy of the audience was expressed in hearty applause when their cause was defended by Professor Bhramachari.

The Philippines was the topic for Tuesday. Addresses were made by Hon. Charles H. Washburn, member of the Congressional Committee on Insular Affairs, who spoke of the American rule in the islands; Dr. Blakeslee, whose subject was "The Significance to the Far East of America's Experiment in the Philippines"; Dr. W. S. Washburn, United States Civil Service Commissioner in the Philippines, who explained the civil service system there; and J. W. Beardsley, consulting engineer to the Philippine government, who described the progress of public works in the islands. Other speakers were Judge Lebbeus R. Wilfley, formerly Attorney-General of the Philippines; Hon. Mason S. Stone, a former superintendent of education in Manila; Dr. George Heber Jones, missionary at Seoul; Dr. J. D. Burke and Hon. W. Morgan Shuster.

Wednesday was given up chiefly to Korea. The speakers and subjects were: Hon. H. N. Allen, "The Awakening of Korea"; Dr. George Heber Jones, "The Progress of Reform in Korea"; Prof. George Trumbull Ladd of Yale, "The Japanese Administration in Korea." Great progress, it was shown, is being made there under Japanese administration. The natives and the Japanese resident officers are wisely making a beneficial adjustment of their common interests. One of the best prepared papers of the week was read by A. C. Griffiths, M. A., president of Oahu College, Honolulu, who showed conclusively that the Hawaiian government, with its cosmopolitan methods of dealing with the different races, has no Oriental problem. No better tribute could be paid to the sterling qualities of the Chinese, when these people are rightly conditioned and properly treated, than

that paid by Mr. Griffiths. Whether as students, workmen, merchants or citizens, they have conducted themselves admirably in Hawaii. He declared that, "from our experience in Hawaii, there need be no fear that the Chinese will impose Oriental civilization, standards of living or methods of thought upon the country. The younger Chinese in a generation, through the instrumentality of the school and the church, have quite completely adopted American ideals and ways. Hawaii has demonstrated that the Chinese, in the proper political, social and educational environment, will become American citizens whose stability, patriotism and obedience to law will give them an honored place under the Stars and Stripes."

In the evening Prof. I. T. Headland of Peking University gave an illustrated popular lecture on "Child Life in China," which, besides being instructive to the audience, had a fine moral effect upon it. A common standing ground for the humanity of the American and the Chinaman may be found in their childhood games and nursery rhymes, which in many instances resemble each other. Lectures like this, in which children are shown at their innocent play, remove one about as far from the spirit of race hatred and of war as anything can.

Thursday was devoted to Japan and China. Dr. Jokichi Takamine, president of the Nippon Club, New York, and Prof. Masiyiro Honda, formerly of the Imperial Normal School, spoke on the relations between the United States and Japan; Dr. Otis Cary of Tokyo on "What We Owe to the Japanese," and Dr. J. H. Pettie on the traditionally peaceful and fraternal spirit of the Japanese towards Americans. Professor Honda's address appears elsewhere in this paper. In the afternoon Hon. Chester Holcombe, formerly acting minister of the United States at Peking, author of "The Real Chinese Question," spoke on the real Chinaman in a manner so frank and forcible that everybody could understand the peculiarities of the Chinese. This address emphasized the fact that parental rule and responsibility runs through the very life of China and is the essence of its governmental system. It is impossible fully to understand the propriety of the Empress Dowager's taking the reins of government from the Emperor without a knowledge of the customary working of the parental right of interference with children of whatever rank or age, in case their conduct is questioned. Dr. F. W. Williams of Yale, son of the late Seth D. Williams, and joint author with his father of "The Middle Kingdom," spoke on "The History of the Development of the Relations between the United States and China." His address, though not written as a peace document, was in every sense in support of a just, conciliatory and peaceable policy towards China. It was especially good for clearing up misconceptions as to the effect of the use of force by foreign governments in opening China to the world. Professor Williams believes in and sees increasing signs of a return to the Burlingame idea, the underlying thought of which is the territorial integrity of China and a spirit of fair dealing with her. The need of a "distinctive" American policy in China was advocated in a well-condensed speech, full of strong conviction, by T. F. Millard of New York, a widely-experienced traveler in the Orient, author of "The New Far East" and "America and the Far Eastern Question." Mr. Millard's views, which were less radical than those given in his latest book,

were in part endorsed in an address made by Judge Wilfley, who, on occasion of the conferring of honorary degrees on Thursday evening, was given the degree of Doctor of Laws, in recognition of his services in the cause of justice while serving as judge of the United States Court in China. Judge Wilfley believes that the United States should keep its eyes wide open to its paramount interests; but, as already intimated, the idea of an aggressive American policy in the Orient failed to meet with the approval of a majority of the conference.

The speakers on Friday were H. F. Merrill, supervisor of Chinese students in America, who spoke on his work; Dr. Hamilton F. Wright of the United States Opium Commission, the result of whose researches on the opium question are being printed in the *American Journal of International Law*; John Foord, secretary of the American Asiatic Association, whose subject was "American Trade Relations with China"; Prof. J. W. Jenks, who described Chinese "Financial Conditions"; Dr. Headland, who gave impressive anecdotes of the lives of the late Emperor and Empress Dowager; and Major Swift of the general staff of the United States Army, who explained the extensive military organization contemplated and the already practical equipment of the new Chinese army.

Several of the speakers spoke effectively, though incidentally, in the interest of the peace idea proper, apart from the question of international justice. This was notably the case with American missionaries in dealing with the situation in Japan. But the most distinctive utterance of the kind came in the address of Mr. Merrill. He enumerated the things that the Chinese students ought to learn from America, and then dwelt upon the things that their people already possess and should not be induced by Western ideas to surrender. Most prominent of these was the peace idea. "China," he said, "is a peaceful and a peace loving nation. That she may be kept so is the fervent wish of her truest friends, and should be the aim of her students in this country. The world is coming to believe that war is not a necessity, and that the scope of diplomacy and of international arbitration will gradually, or perhaps even suddenly, be enlarged so as to include all matters at issue between nations, or that war may become impossible through the operation of an international pact whereby every signatory nation shall bind itself to submit its own disputes, after diplomacy has done its best, to the decision of the Court of Arbitration. Such a consummation may yet be far off, but at least its possibility is recognized; it is no longer generally recognized as a chimera.

"Let not China be in a hurry, then, to create a great army and navy; let her, rather, be the first, lead the van, in subscribing unreservedly to an international pact for compulsory arbitration, and thus shall she preserve her traditional character as a peace loving nation. In her relations with other nations an invariable adherence to strict right, the exercise of great care as to agreements,—but the strict discharge of obligations once entered into,—will put her in a stronger position and be a surer guarantee against aggression than would the possession of a great army and navy."

On Saturday Dr. Archibald Cary Coolidge of Harvard University, author of "The United States as a World Power," gave a comprehensive survey of "China and

World Politics"; Dr. Kan-Ichi Asakawa of Yale read an able paper on "Japanese Relations with China," in which he endeavored to show that Japan in her recent policies had conserved the principle of the "open door"; Willard Straight, the Consul General at Mukden, sent a paper to be read on "The Real Situation in Manchuria"; Dr. Headland and Mr. Holcombe spoke again on the political relations of China with the West, and Consul General Wilder made an address. One of the distinguished visitors of the day was Prof. Borden P. Bowne of Boston University, who has traveled and lectured in the Orient, and believes it a fruitful subject for study. The principal guest of the week was Hon. Charles R. Crane of Chicago, lately appointed our ambassador to China. Mr. Crane comes to his duties with a valuable experience in travel in foreign lands, and a sympathetic interest in China. The impression is general that in making him our representative there the President has made a wise choice. As to the President's own policy in China, it was felt that his Shanghai speech, which was full of the thought of free industrial development for that country, was its best expression, and that in any event he would fully meet his great opportunity to serve the best interests both of this country and the Orient.

The Peace Society of the City of New York.

Notes of the Summer's Work.

BY WILLIAM H. SHORT, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY.

The work of the Society during the summer has been mostly confined to seconding in this country the valuable service which Mr. Carnegie has rendered the cause of peace in foreign countries by a wide circulation of several documents dealing with the present aspect of militarism. The first of these documents was entitled "The Path to Peace," and was a reprint of a letter written by Mr. Carnegie to the *London Times*; the "Supplement" was likewise a reprint from the *London Times* and *Westminster Gazette*; the third, "Armaments and Their Results," was written solely for the purpose of propaganda. This paper of Mr. Carnegie is published in full on another page of this issue. In England copies of each of these were sent by Mr. Carnegie's direction to each member of His Majesty's cabinet, each member of the House of Lords, each member of the House of Commons, bishops and leading ministers of all denominations, public libraries, ambassadors, editors of newspapers, representatives of foreign newspapers in London, chancellors and professors of universities, lords of the admiralty, war office officials and prominent men in public life. In this country, to the President and the Cabinet at Washington, members of Congress, embassies and legations, public officials in the different states and prominent men, college presidents, prominent educators, leading financiers in New York, officers of the navy, army officers above the grade of captain, bishops and leading ministers of the various religious denominations, the press, Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade and libraries.

The National German-American Alliance, which has a following of one and one-half million citizens, at its last convention in New York two years ago, declared its adherence to the principles of the peace movement, and formed a committee for peace propaganda. This com-

mittee met and drew up plans of procedure, which came to naught because of lack of knowledge of the facts of the peace movement even among some members of the committee. It therefore seems highly desirable to have a strong representative of the peace movement at the next National Convention, which is to meet in Cincinnati from October 2 to 7. Systematic instruction along the lines of international peace is proposed, concerted action in regard to German-American arbitration is to be taken up again, etc. Energetic work at the convention is necessary to develop the work so auspiciously begun; otherwise, there is danger that the matter will rest with the resolutions passed. At a special meeting of the executive committee on September 20 an appropriation of fifty dollars was voted, to be added to an equal amount from the German-American Peace Society, to cover the traveling expenses of a delegate from their society to represent the cause of peace at this convention. Dr. Ernst Richard of Columbia University has been chosen as delegate, and much gratification has been expressed that so well-informed, able and eloquent a representative is to present the subject.

New Books.

THE LAWS OF WAR ON LAND. (Written and unwritten.) By Thomas Erskine Holland, K. C. Oxford at the Clarendon Press. 1908. Cloth, 149 pages.

Dr. Thomas Erskine Holland, professor of International Law at Oxford, author of a celebrated work on "Jurisprudence," as well as several books on international law and diplomacy, etc., has brought together here in a small compass, but with much scholarly labor, a statement of the written and unwritten laws of land warfare with brief comments on them. The written laws, that is, those made by the Hague Conferences, are printed in heavy, the unwritten, or those that are as yet but custom, are put in ordinary type; but both kinds of law are numbered continuously from one to one hundred and forty, and are classified in a compact and coherent body that properly entitles them to be called "Professor Holland's Code of War." In an appendix may be found historical notes by the author on the instructions issued by various national governments to their troops with regard to the rules to be observed in civilized warfare.

Professor Holland's book is the work of an expert, and therefore is more useful to the specialist than to the general reader, unless the reader happens to be curious to study a very technical subject. It ought to be invaluable to the preliminary committee of the third Hague Conference, but long before that committee meets it will have a value to instructors in international law who need its help in interpreting to their classes the meaning of the Hague regulations on war and neutrality. Great improvements have been made in the laws relating to the treatment of wounded soldiers, prisoners, non-combatants and private property, in land warfare, especially since Lieber's "Instructions" were issued to the United States army in 1863, and the Red Cross rules were adopted in 1864; but much yet remains to be done in this department of international reform.

This reform does not, of course, compare in importance commissions of inquiry, which seek to prevent war altogether, but so long as war remains, is by no means to